/430 cont./

*511 517 [541 546] Finally, eight families more or less regularly devote a part of their incomes to the heading "Diversions"; excluding No. 36 /431/ (he attends the horse races), all go to the cinema or send their children there. They are the numbers:

No. 16:	1%	No. 36:	1%
No. 22:	3.5%	No. 39:	0.6%
No. 26:	0.9%	No. 40:	0.2%
No. 33:	0.6%	No. 43:	0.6%

[204] There must be added to that five families who read and buy newspapers:

No. 34:	Employee...	0.3%	of the income
No. 36:	Accountant..	0.7%	--
No. 39:	Teacher.....	1.6%	--
No. 41:	Employee...	0.4%	--
No. 43:	Doctor.....	2.5%	--

*511 423 A final question presents itself. How, when there is any, are the surpluses utilized.

We have been able to get precise data in only two cases: No. 36 built a house to which he devoted in one year, from March 1952 to March 1953, 80,000 francs. On the [427] other hand, No. 43 has taken in rent-sale a villa in Dakar, and for that he pays 12,300 francs per month.

[554] Moreover, the ambition of many, as we have said, is to become the owner of their dwelling. Some look further and want some gardens besides. Several already possess one or the other and are only trying to improve or enlarge them. One of them claimed that he had had a well dug, but he was unable or did not want to remember the sums put into this undertaking.

*511 [472] [494] [454] [426] One of the family heads succeeded in starting a transportation business after having purchased two carts and a horse. Some hoard. We believed that a cultivator had a good-sized bank account and loaned the money at usurious rates. We have

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563 formed as a result of the *loi cadre* reforms, are typical of the [645] Frenchmen who have identified themselves with the country of their sojourn. Indeed such was the devotion of Peytavin to his party's cause that he was retained as Minister of Finance even after independence and opted for Senegalese nationality, a step that Bonifay found himself unable to take. These were men of high education—Bonifay, a well known lawyer, and Peytavin a veterinary surgeon. There were many others like them, not only applying such principles in the political field, but in the administration and commerce, who helped to dispel from the African what would otherwise have been a dominant impression of an isolationist and sometimes racist French community.

[369] It would be foolish to paint too idealised a picture of [571] race relations in Dakar. Many Europeans, particularly the *petit blanc*, openly admit to holding the African in contempt. But these are usually Europeans of little economic or political consequence and since independence their opinions have obviously carried negligible weight with the Senegalese.

Furthermore most Europeans in Dakar and the other main towns of Senegal, whatever their prejudices, send their children to local schools, where perforce they mix on terms of equality with Africans. The same is true of [873] Dakar University which has a large number of French students, the majority of whom are girls whose parents are working in Dakar. Their brothers try if possible to go to French universities. Though friendships tend to be [572] within the same racial group, there is a considerable number of inter-racial friendships.

563 The main point of conflict would appear to the casual
369 visitor to be the economic domination of private enterprise
463 and the more important subaltern jobs by Europeans.
472 But before analysing any tensions that have arisen from this, it is essential to point to some special features of Senegalese society. In Senegal, by contrast with Nigeria, Ghana and Ivory Coast, there is no entrepreneurial class of

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Africans. Indeed only very small scale trading is in the hands of Africans, otherwise large scale commercial enterprises are run by Europeans, and most of their managerial staff being European. Between these large scale organisations, the whole range of middleman trade is dominated by Lebanese and the so-called *petit blancs*. Small shopkeeping is predominantly in the hands of the Mauritanians, though larger shops particularly in Dakar, are run by Lebanese and Europeans. At first sight this would seem to be an unhealthy situation, and it would be foolish to ignore the inherent dangers in it. But the most ardent critics of this state of affairs are as often as not visiting Africans, not the Senegalese themselves. When a Nigerian shops in Printania or goes to the local bank in Dakar, he is shocked by the number of Frenchwomen employed in jobs he is accustomed to seeing held by Africans in Lagos. But in considering the rather special case of Dakar one must take into account a number of factors that are often overlooked by would-be critics.

Senegal is a territory of only 3,100,000 people and in the normal run of education in French-speaking African states, even taking into account Senegal's special position among them, the percentage of the population available to fill managerial and sub-managerial posts or indeed any 'European-style' job in all sectors of the economy, can hardly match up to the requirements of the most highly industrialised city in West Africa. In addition Dakar has a large international airport and a port that was the third largest in the French Union. It is also the centre of government for Senegal and the terminus of a railway. It is not surprising therefore that Senegal finds it more difficult to find the appropriate number of Africans to fill its senior posts in commerce and industry than Lagos which has a Nigerian population of over 36 million to draw on. Furthermore Lagos is in the centre of an area where missionaries have been active for over a hundred years and consequently

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463 has enjoyed a much higher rate of education than was possible in an Islamic community like Senegal, even taking into account French assimilation policy.

There is a pronounced bias in Senegal against entering into commerce, whether at the African level or at the European level. This bias has been observed by many Europeans. It may be thought of as a mere attempt to explain away the lack of success or rather a lack of desire and intention to Africanise commerce, but against this view, M. Assane Seck, one of the leaders of the Opposition *P.R.A.-Sénégal* and a lecturer at the university, who might normally be only too pleased to pin the slow rate of Africanisation of commerce on the Government, has said that one of the chief obstacles to the Africanisation of economy at its higher levels is the preference of the Senegalese élite, and even the lesser educated classes, for work in the Administration. Under the French the Administration seems to have enjoyed a very high status especially as rates of pay have always been considerably higher than in commerce and industry. Commerce, even when it pays better, has among the Senegalese something of the smear it had in ninteenth-century England.

Another barrier to the Africanisation of shopkeeping and small scale private enterprise is the difficulty the Senegalese have in amassing capital. The obligations towards members of the extended family are such that a man with money has calls made on it from even his most distant relatives. This social parasitism is much stronger in Senegal than in most West African countries. One of the few important Senegalese business men operating in Dakar today has admitted that he had to reduce his family obligations drastically, not only because he was married to a European, but because unless he did so, he would never be able to keep enough capital in his business. Diop Abdoulaye, in his study of the Toucouleur, has protested against the use of the term family parasitism for something which 'makes it possible to help those in need, the unemployed, for example, who can then

/74 cont./

369 3. The establishment of industries (1923-1945).

498 [175] The event which gave a decisive impulsion to the commercial escale and which brought Thiès to the rank of a city was without question the establishment of the railroad repair shops in 1923. As early as 1907 the first work had been undertaken to connect Thiès to Bamako directly by rail; difficulties of all kinds and then the war impeded it. In 1923 only the junction of the two sections had been made at Kidira on the Falémé. There was some concern to have the repair shops of the Thiès-Niger established in the center nearest the coast. Thiès, head of the line, was chosen as [162] the center. In a few years the city grew by 10,000 souls, going from 3,000 inhabitants in 1921 to 13,000 in 1929.

369 441 The opening of the railroad yards not only brought about the arrival of many workers and their families, but at the same /75/ /Fig. 2 appears here/ time gave a strong impulsion to commerce. The regular injection of credits by this new industry brought about a renewal of commercial activity which showed in the expansion of the firms already established and the creation of new stores. The Africans, who up [472] [563] to that time worked solely for the profit of firms under European management and who had been kept out of the retail business, opened small shops for their own profit (4).

[177]

4. It is the military, it seems, who brought back from France this idea of establishing for themselves small grocery stores copied from those encountered in the villages of the mother country.

The latter, appealing to an essentially native clientele, multiplied as soon as the economic scope of the city increased. At the same time the number of artisans increased.

[563] After the war, the Levantines, who had been the only ones able to carry on commerce in complete tranquility for four years, set up businesses for themselves. Their experience